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HIGHWAY TO HARMONY

**A REPORT ON
RELATIONSHIPS IN
SOUTH AFRICA**

BY Wentzel C. du Plessis



"TO KNOW ALL, IS TO UNDERSTAND ALL."

To understand the complex situation facing South Africa today, it is essential to know the facts. It is necessary to know and understand the motives and ideals inspiring South Africans in their efforts to work for a goal they share with humanity in general: peaceful progress and a better life for the many peoples living within the boundaries of their promising, young country.


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This report is based upon an address delivered by Mr. Wentzel C. du Plessis, Ambassador of the Union of South Africa to the United States, to the Law School Forum of Harvard University on December 5, 1958.



"South Africa is the one reliable friend the Western World has (in Africa). We are the one area on which the West can rely absolutely. Our friendship must remain, in spite of misunderstanding, because our interests are the same."

Prime Minister Dr. Hendrik F. Verwoerd.



In the world today, the question which is stirring the hearts and minds of all thinking men and women is the relationship between peoples of different colour. Interwoven with that question are the other differentials, such as those of culture, of development within the same cultures, of political maturity, of social and economic standards, of religion and of class. In the Union of South Africa, these other differentials are through force of circumstances practically, if not wholly, synonymous with colour, and that gives us a fairly unique position in the world. That is also the reason why we are the recipients of such concentrated attention and concern.

It is not my intention to defend South Africa's policies here but rather to explain them. Why I make this distinction is that, although the question of the relationship between men of different colour is one of universal interest, my country's policies in regard to this issue are exclusively of domestic concern. They are not intended for export; we do not ask others to follow us, although we do ask for their understanding. In this we welcome well-meaning and constructive criticism, although we more often than not merely experience the negative approach of those who are adept at telling us what not to do but remain silent on what *they* would do if they had to carry the burden of responsibility.

The right of non-interference in questions which are essentially of domestic concern is a right which is enshrined in article 2(7) of the United Nations Charter, and its observance always has been and still is basic to the maintenance of good relations between states. It is a right claimed by all when it concerns possible interference in their affairs and disregarded by many when it concerns not their own, but the affairs of others. For this act of non-observance and of disregard, I feel that a price will still have to be paid as world events unfold.

It is on the ground of this golden rule — debased though it may be — that I shall not defend but explain, just as I assume that those interested in the issue are inspired by a desire to learn and not by the wish to accuse.

My task is a particularly difficult one, not because it is so difficult to explain *apartheid* but because it touches on a problem which presents itself in all countries in one form or another. Apartheid, or separatism accompanied by differential development, shows itself in many forms in all societies of the world. In the United States, it also presents itself as a problem based on the colour differential. Here, as in South Africa, it is a question involving ethical, emotional, legal, sociological and economic considerations, but above all it touches on political susceptibilities. This being so, it constitutes delicate ground on which to tread.

No Comparison

I say clearly that I am not concerned with and have no intention, even by implication, of saying anything which might be regarded as interference with or criticism of racial matters in the United States, except that I do want to make two points which I think are essential to a better understanding of South Africa's racial problems when looked at through American eyes:

Firstly: There is no basis of comparison between South Africa's problem and that of the United States. There might have been if the United States had at this time been inhabited by, say, twenty million White people with French as their mother tongue; by fifteen million White people with English as their mother tongue; by one hundred million Indians of various tribes, just emerging from tribal life, of which forty million still lived on the reservations in accordance with their ancient tribal customs; of which thirty million lived in white rural areas; of which another thirty million lived in the cities, the majority of whom would still be reeling under the forcible impact of Western civilisation.

In addition you would also have seventeen million people of mixed blood, nearly all living in and around Boston (as they do at Cape Town).*

If You Were President . . .

To an intelligent audience I put the question: if you were President of a multi-racial and multi-lingual United States with the population composition I have just described, do you think you would have had an easy job on your hands

—so to govern that there would be the minimum of friction and of strife between all the component parts,

—so that there would be the fullest possible life for all in their varying stages of development,

*This would not complete the picture because you would also have five million Asians, plus smaller groups of other peoples, e.g. Eskimos. I have taken round figures and confined myself to the main groups. Actually the position is even more complicated in South Africa, as I shall show later.

- so that there would be political stability as well as economic viability in this heterogeneous community,
- so that there would be no exploitation of the weaker in numbers, by the stronger, or domination by the stronger in competitive capacity, of the weaker and, lastly,
- so that the best and not the worst standards in each constituent part of the people might be fostered and furthered for the benefit of the whole?

If you admit, as I think every intelligent person will, that you would not have an easy but indeed an anxious and a worrying task on your hands, then we have at least made that much progress.

But then I would ask a second question: If you were President of the United States in the circumstances I have described, what policy would you follow so that there could be the greatest happiness for the greatest number? This is indeed the vital question to which one rarely gets a reasonable reply from anyone not actually living under the circumstances which I am going to sketch.

So, I shall not ask you for a reply to that question but will, instead, tell you what policy *I* would follow in such circumstances. That policy is one we are actually following in South Africa — a policy which rejects the theory, and does so emphatically, that all men because they are equal are also the same.

Equal But Not The Same

The theory that men are the same because they are equal is, to my mind, one of the most disturbing theories of our time. If that theory were to be generally accepted and applied so that it became a fact of life, then evolution would have come to a stop prematurely, because it is precisely the fact that men are different from one another which provides the stimulus to growth and thus to the attainment of a fuller life. But you cannot hurry this by artificial means. Maybe some day, in the fullness of time in the most actual sense of that phrase, men, in addition to being equal, will also be the same; although there again I find it said that even in heaven there are Archangels, Cherubim and Seraphim and Angels of lesser degree. So according to the Good Book, there is some form of differentiation even there!

Our policy on the one hand, is based on this fact — this law of nature — that men are different. When men have to live together within the confines of a common boundary and they are as different from one another as the peoples of the Union of South Africa, *then* you have to adopt a policy which not only takes cognizance of that difference, in its essence as well as in its varying degrees, but also a policy which will be workable and just, towards the weaker as well as the stronger. And remember in this connection that in South Africa the non-Whites are numerically the stronger and the Whites the weaker, but in competitive capacity the Whites are the stronger and the non-Whites the weaker.

So, the wise man who is called upon to govern, will, inter alia, have to consider two things:

- (a) the facts of life as he finds them, and
- (b) the needs engendered by those facts.

If he does not do this, but governs according to his own or maybe somebody else's theories, possibly applicable to and workable in entirely different circumstances, he will be defeated by the very facts he has chosen to disregard. The tragedy will be that not only will he be defeated, but millions whose affairs and lives were in his hands as a sacred trust will go down into disruption and defeat with him.

Other Problems, Other People

Life is not static but in a continuous state of evolution. Life, therefore, adjusts itself in accordance with the evolutionary process. Accordingly, governmental policies, which in their aim and purpose are mainly directed to the establishment of regulatory

THE POPULATION OF THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA IN 1957



processes, cannot remain static but must also be subject to adjustment. In these times of stress and strain you clearly see the process of adjustment going on before your very eyes every day. Not all of this seems to us to be good, but this may often be because we tend to measure events by our own standards. If it were physically possible to put ourselves in the other man's place and measure events by *his* standards, our judgment would undergo a corresponding change.

This brings me to the second point which I wish to make: to see the other man as he sees himself is precisely what we are trying to do in South Africa.

I now advance a further consideration which is of the highest importance, namely, that to understand South Africa's policies you must, in all fairness, try to rid your minds of any thought you may possibly have that American solutions for American problems, however good they may be domestically, are necessarily equally valid when applied to problems of a similar nature faced by other people.

I have said that in our policy we have regard to two main essentials:

- (a) the facts of life, and (b) the needs engendered by those facts.

The Peoples

The facts I have already sketched preliminarily; I shall now express them in figures. Within the boundaries of the Union we have living together 14.2 million people who, in their main groupings, are composed as follows:

Whites: 3 million. Bantu: 9½ million. Coloureds: 1.3 million. Asians: .4 million.

The White people are descended from some of the most staunchly democratic and industrious populations of Western Europe and the United Kingdom and are mainly of Protestant faith. While they are largely bi-lingual, 60% of them have Afrikaans as their home language while 40% have English. Both these languages are official languages of the Union.

The Bantu are divided into four main groups, principally in recognition of their language differences, but also with regard to general cultural characteristics. These groups are:

1. the Nguni, comprising the Zulu, Swazi and Xhosa tribes;
2. the Sotho, comprising the Tswana, the Pedi and the Northern and Southern Sotho;
3. the Venda;
4. the Shangaan — Tsonga groups.

These main groups have many sub-groups just as the main languages, which are as different from one another as English is from Portuguese, are spoken in many dialects; for instance, the Sotho group has the Tswana as a sub-group and this sub-group alone speaks nine dialects.

Whites From Europe

It is not necessary to explain in detail how it came about that so many different people, speaking so many languages, live together in the same country. Suffice it to say that the original inhabitants of what is now South Africa were the Hottentots and the Bushmen who were yellow-skinned men, smaller in stature than the Bantu. They were crushed out in the 18th and 19th centuries between the advancing tides of Whites from the South and Bantu from the North, and today there are only small groups of them left. They enjoy protection but in many respects — and this applies especially to the Bushmen — they still lead a stone-age life. They are interesting people, however, and in their social structure there is much that is commendable.

White settlement commenced in 1652, when the Dutch East India Company decided to establish a supply station at the Cape. Although this initially was intended to be a temporary venture, it soon became a permanent settlement and the first officials were later joined by immigrants, mainly from Holland, France and Germany. In 1806, the Cape became a British Colony and the population was further strengthened by settlers from the British Isles.

For various reasons, a northward movement started in the 1830's, as a result of which the independent republics of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State were established, as well as the British Colony of Natal. These republics lost their independence in the Anglo-Boer War of 1899-1902, and likewise became British Colonies. The four Colonies were joined together in 1910, to form what is now known as the Union of South Africa. Constitutionally, it is a member of the Commonwealth of Nations, but otherwise it is a fully independent and sovereign State.

Bantu From Central Africa

More or less at the time the Whites settled at the Cape, the Bantu were moving down the eastern escarpment of South Africa from the Lake regions in Central Africa. These advancing tides met during the 18th and 19th centuries, and it is as a result of these migrations from the North and the South that you have the situation as it is today.

At this stage, I wish to stress two important facts which are basic to the policy I am trying to explain:

1. both the White and the Bantu people have historically justifiable claims to the country, and
2. by and large, the Bantu are still in possession of the territories which were theirs when the advancing tides met, while the White people are in possession of the territories which, at the time of their migration, they found to be unoccupied.*

*When I speak hereafter of White areas and Bantu areas, these are the territories to which I refer.

It is true that, at the present time, the Bantu areas comprise only about 12½% of the total extent of the country; but this means 60,000 square miles of good agricultural land. Comparatively speaking, the Bantu areas are larger than England and Wales, twice the size of Ireland, four times the area of Denmark and of Holland, five and a half times the area of Belgium. It is interesting to note that Belgium and Holland support populations of 9 and 11 millions respectively.

These are not the only territories occupied by the Bantu in Southern Africa. They also occupy three territories still under British administration, namely, Basutoland (an enclave within our borders) and Swaziland and Bechuanaland (which are on our borders).*

Separate Development

To return now to my main thesis, I wish to say that, in order to achieve the ends of good government in the circumstances I have outlined, we have given form and substance as well as legal sanction, to a policy of separate or differential development which itself gradually evolved from all the conditions obtaining in South Africa where so many people who are so different from one another have to live together in peace or, failing this, have to resort to a process of elimination of the weaker by the stronger.

The policy is a discriminatory policy, and I frankly admit that in the measures flowing forth from the policy there is discrimination based on colour; but it is not one-sided discrimination in favour of the White man, as the world is so often asked to believe! It would therefore be more correct to describe it as differentiation instead of discrimination. This policy of differentiation works both ways as these few examples will show:

1. In relation to the purchase and ownership of land:

White men are not allowed to purchase and own land in the Bantu areas and, conversely, Bantu may not purchase and own land in the White areas, except where the purchase is approved by the Government exclusively for the purpose of eliminating White islands in Bantu areas or of black islands in White areas. Many eminent persons say that all land should be made subject to the ordinary forces of economic competition, and we are criticized for not giving the Bantu the right of ownership in White areas. Should all land be opened up to economic competition, it is not the Bantu who would benefit but the competitively stronger Whites, because Bantu lands would be bought up in a comparatively short time. The Bantu would then have become a landless race and serfs in the real sense of the term. Where Bantu live in White urban areas they are given extended tenure — up to thirty years — of the houses they build or buy there, but not ownership of the land.

*Together the three territories have an area of 295,000 square miles.

2. In relation to trading:

As the Bantu develop commercial skills, trading rights in Bantu areas are progressively being reserved to them. New licences are not issued to White traders in Bantu areas. Conversely, Bantu traders do not receive trading licences in White residential areas but they do receive full trading rights in Bantu residential areas in White urban territory. Already there are quite a number of prosperous Bantu traders in these areas.

3. In relation to marriage:

The White man is prohibited by law from having more than one wife but the Bantu system of polygamy is not illegal. The Bantu can have as many wives as he can afford to buy. This may possibly be interpreted by many as discrimination in the White man's favour!

4. In relation to the consumption of liquor:

A few thousand highly evolved Bantu enjoy exemption from the law which prohibits the sale of hard liquor to their fellows. We have not used the gin bottle as a means to exterminate the Bantu. They are, however, allowed to make a wholesome nutritious beer (mostly from millet) which has a small alcoholic content. This prohibition on the sale of intoxicants naturally lends itself to abuse and unfortunately results in continuous police action (as in the days of prohibition in the United States). For this, we are often criticized but we have not thought it advisable that the Bantu should be made subject to the ravages of strong drink at this time.

5. In relation to the movement of persons:

For this we have been and are now being made subject to the severest form of criticism. We exercise control over the movement of persons from the Bantu to the White urban areas and from the White into the Bantu areas. If we did not exercise strict control over the movement of Bantu to White urban areas, the cities and towns would simply be flooded by Bantu, the majority of whom would be workless. Can you imagine what the position then would be in regard to housing, sanitation, health, education and crime? Hunger, disease and death are not respecters of persons and would exact a high price from us, but the highest of all from the Bantu, if we did not have regulatory procedures in regard to the movement of persons. This surely, must be self-evident.

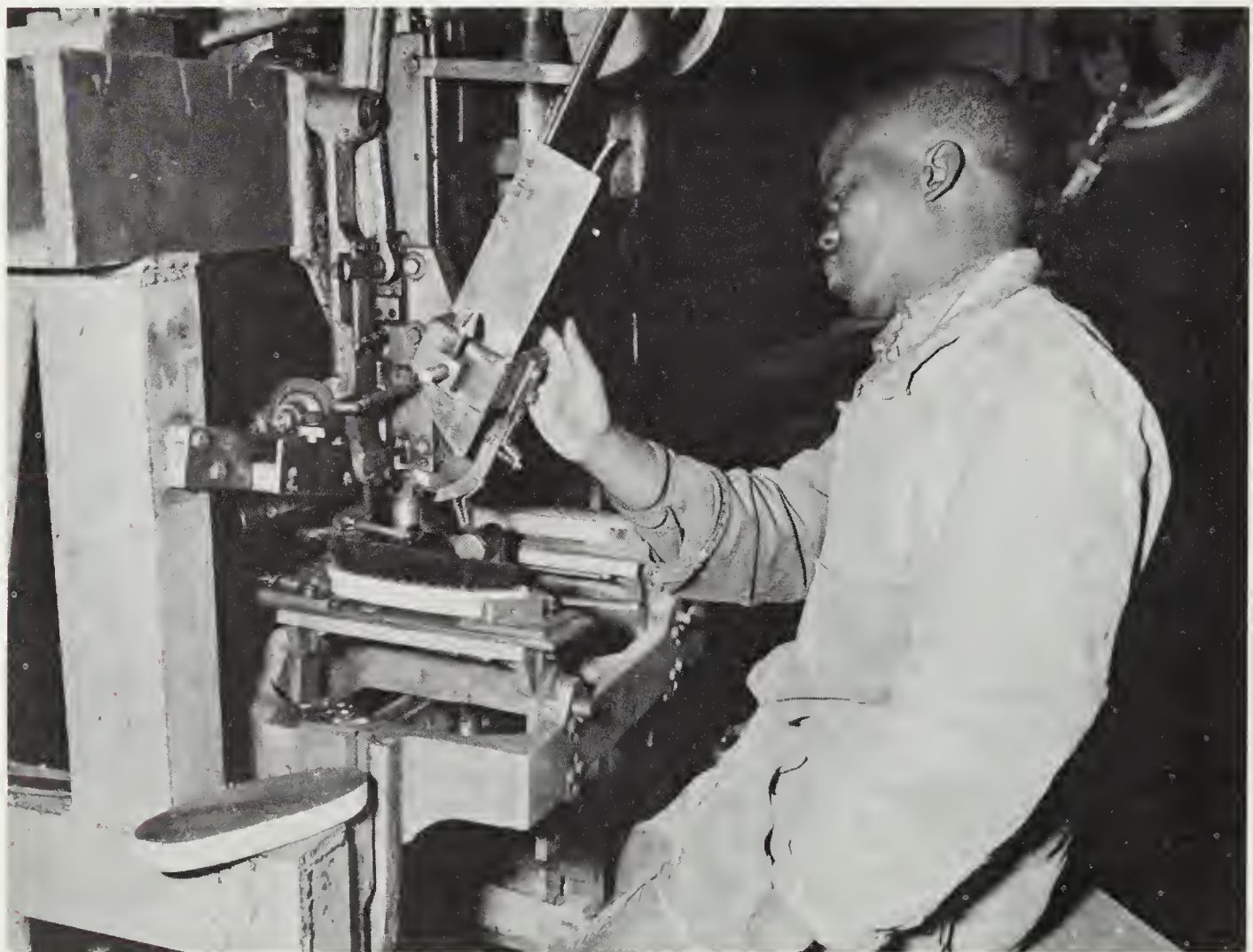
Conversely, the White population again is not allowed freedom of movement in the Bantu areas. This too is subject to regulation, and permits are required by Whites who wish to enter or visit these areas.

These examples will illustrate how this policy of differentiation works in practice, and I now return to the general principles underlying that policy.

Work And Well-Being

I have already pointed out that, on the one hand, our policy is based on the inescapable fact that men, although equal, are not the same. And in South Africa, as I have pointed out, they are very different. I added that, on the other hand, it is based on the needs arising from our circumstances in South Africa. Let us, therefore, now look at these circumstances a little more closely.

The Union of South Africa is the most highly industrialized state on the Continent of Africa. It has a viable and complex economy established by the initiative, know-how and capital of the White man, assisted by the labour of the Bantu. This partnership of initiative, trained skills, capital and labour still forms the foundation, the support and the structure of our economy today and will continue to do so as far as we can foresee. It is often said that, without the labour of the Bantu, our economy in many important sectors would stand in grave jeopardy. This is probably true for the moment, although with increasing mechanization and with the advent of automation, the labour pattern will undergo important changes which cannot yet be fully anticipated.



The Bantu worker has travelled a long way since he came into contact, little more than a generation ago, with the White man's mines and factories. Within scarcely half a century, he has made considerable progress, becoming an industrial worker, like the man above, who is operating a bristle-inserting machine in a Johannesburg factory.

It is equally true, however — and this is not often said by our critics — that the Bantu has little else to sell but his labour, unskilled as it mostly is, and that if there were no market — a market provided by the White man — he would find himself in dire and distressing circumstances. The White man is not to blame for this situation which is due to the historical fact that, in primitive Bantu society, it was not the man who was the labourer but the woman, and that economically they confined themselves to animal husbandry, with a modicum of agricultural development on a purely subsistence basis. There was no carry-over from one year to another; there was not even the beginning of an attempt at industrial development.

Due to our protectionist policy which has increasingly safeguarded the Bantu from the scourges of disease and famine, they have greatly increased in number. (Where they numbered four million in 1910 they are now nine and a half million.)

Keeping these millions in comparative well-being has placed a considerable strain on South African resources. As part of the effort to provide an outlet for Bantu labour and to lead them out of economic isolation and distress while at the same time making their labour fruitful and productive, all South African Governments, to this day, have followed a policy of closing our borders to the importation of unskilled White labour from abroad.

Live And Let Live

The White population is comparatively small and would have benefited greatly, just as Canada, Australia and New Zealand, and also the United States have done, from the importation of unskilled White labour; but we have consistently refused to do this as it would have deprived the Bantu of the means of earning a living outside his tribal occupations. At the same time, it would have caused conflict economically and also socially between Black and White and created stresses and strains of which we have enough already. To many, however, it is an anxious thought that, by not importing White unskilled labour, we have placed the White minority in avoidable jeopardy. This thought continues to occupy many minds and pressure is still being exercised upon the Government to relax this restriction.

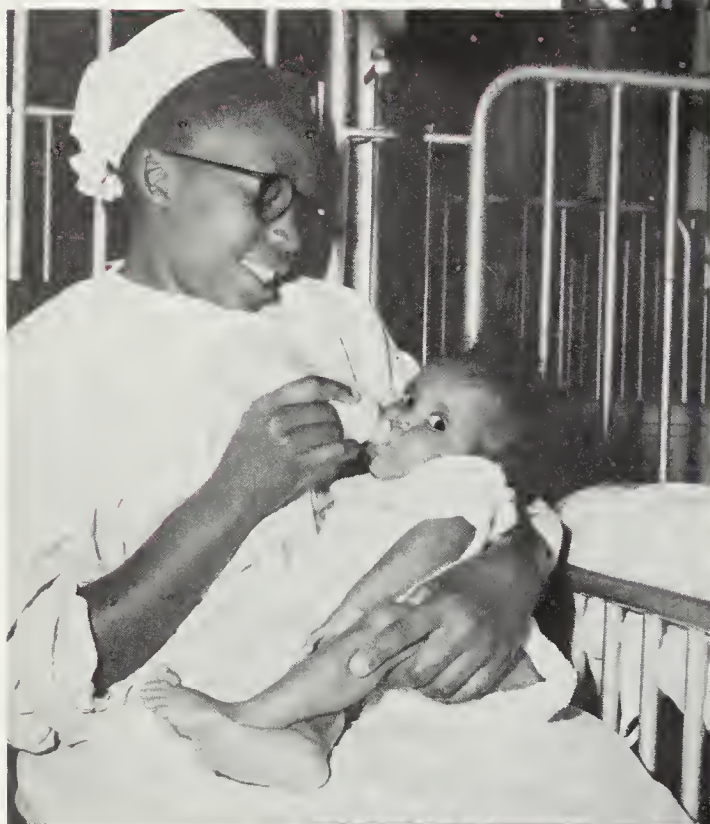
The coin, of course, also has its reverse side. The question will arise in your minds whether the use of unskilled Bantu labour, because it is cheaper, has not more than counter-balanced the non-availability of White unskilled labour. This is an arguable point as a reference to some of South Africa's sister states in the Commonwealth with an equal and, in some cases, even much smaller total but practically homogeneous all-White population, will at once demonstrate. However, whatever the merits or demerits of the argument, it would be purely hypothetical, because we do have the various population groups and they have to be provided with a livelihood, if not by the sweat of their brows then by the ingenuity of their brains.

Having this source of unskilled labour available, do South Africans live bountifully on the proceeds of sweated labour? Many say so, very often because of their own troubled consciences.

Public Health



Inside one of the forty-six wards at Baragwanath, a hospital with 1,640 beds to which another 740 are now being added. Of the 162 full-time doctors—including 16 non-Whites—half are specialists and the other half are being trained as specialists. After only ten years of existence, Baragwanath is already the biggest in Africa. All services to patients are free.



Feeding time in one of the nursery wards of Baragwanath Hospital.

A Bantu day nursery in Springs, Transvaal, one of many such nursery schools.



Housing

Beehive huts are the traditional homes of the Zulu. Of South Africa's Black population of 9,500,000, approximately 3,000,000 still live in a primitive tribal environment.

A third of the Bantu population has moved to the South African cities during the past half-century. As the country's vast industrial expansion gathered momentum, slum conditions developed in the larger centers. To eradicate these urban slums, the Government initiated gigantic housing schemes for the Bantu, such as Meadowlands (above), near Johannesburg. (Facilities in this section of Meadowlands include twenty-seven nursery schools, eleven



other schools, thirty-eight churches, a health center, movie houses, shops, markets, community centers and 125 acres of parkland.) In Johannesburg alone, fifty houses for Bantu workers are being built every day—an indication of the speed with which the Government is tackling South Africa's Bantu housing problem. It is estimated that, by 1960, every Bantu family in South Africa's cities will have its own comfortable dwelling under the new schemes.

One of the new homes built for the Bantu near Pretoria. Accommodations for 500,000 Bantu—about 100,000 new homes—were built in South Africa's urban areas from 1953 through 1958.

No Wage Discrimination

The fact is that in South Africa's wage legislation there is no distinction based on colour and an employer may pay what he considers the labour to be worth in terms of training and skill and, also, on what the labourer will accept. However low South African wage rates may appear to be in comparison with American rates, they are princely when compared with the rates paid for the same kind of work in many other countries. In fact, wage rates and conditions of work in South Africa are such that we are hard put to stem the illegal immigration of tens of thousands of Bantu labourers from other African territories. I have yet to hear of people voluntarily rushing forward in their thousands to be oppressed or vilified. But such, evidently, in the minds of many people, is the case in South Africa. *Ex Africa semper aliquid novum.*

Are we content to let Bantu unskilled labour remain unskilled? No, we are not! In the first place, it would be strange if they themselves did not acquire higher skills in the course of their everyday duties. In the second place, we are training them, mostly at Government expense, to be craftsmen in various fields, notably in the building industry, but—and this I say very clearly—not to compete with White skilled workers. Neither do we allow White skilled workers to compete with them in their areas.

Here we enter the field of organized labour relations where Governments, employers and employees tread warily. You may have read of our law relating to job reservations. This is a recent law, yet to be tested by experience, but its intention is to protect the White, the Bantu and the Coloured population in their legitimate spheres of employment. We will not allow encroachment by one on and into the areas of the other, and this — as in other fields where encroachment is an ever present possibility — is much easier said than done.

Developing Their Homeland

Looking now to economic development in the Bantu's own areas, it is our policy to encourage and to assist them to develop their territories, so that it can be a homeland for them in name as well as in fact. The Bantu areas have some of the best agricultural land in the Union, and we are teaching the Bantu modern methods of agriculture, animal husbandry and soil conservation. A comprehensive program of afforestation and of sugar cane and sisal production is in execution. Increased production is quite clearly reflecting their advance in education.

But this is not enough. There must also be industrialization, a concept which, until a short time ago, was utterly strange to them, as was the idea that a man could work and still be a pride unto his women. In order to be healthy and economically sound, this industrialization must be proceeded with gradually, which is not the same as saying that it must be proceeded with slowly. The American Catholic

Bishops have said that gradualism must not be a cloak for inaction. With us it is not. It is a matter of capacities and of economy, as well as of many sociological and other adjustments required in a situation of this nature, such as the Western world has painfully experienced in its own industrial revolutions.

We know that time is now moving at a much faster rate and we are keeping pace with it as best we can. To this end, about one hundred industrial villages are being created in the Bantu territories where there were none before. Here the Bantu industrialist and capitalist, merchant, professional man, craftsman, employer and employee, have room to develop their capacities and to enjoy their rights — including political rights — subject to the risks and responsibilities which go with those rights. This, for a considerable time to come, will have to take place under the professional guidance and supervision of White men who will withdraw as the skills and capacities of their pupils increase.

In these villages, we are introducing a new concept, namely, individual ownership of land as distinct from tribal ownership. But the Bantu will be protected in his ownership in that he will only be able to sell his land to a member of his own race, whose rights of ownership and of occupation are also safeguarded.

In addition, industries in White areas are being encouraged, wherever possible and economically practical, to transfer to the boundaries of the Bantu territories so that, instead of the Bantu moving to the labour market, the labour market will move to him. This means less disruption for him in his family life, the acquisition of settled industrial habits and of lasting values.

Favourable Comparison

Are we then moving towards a position of total apartheid or total separation as many people think and others fear? An answer to this question requires an answer first to another question and that is: what is meant by the word "total"? Does it for instance mean complete and tightly sealed geographical and also physical separation? As I have said, this most important question exercises many minds and will take shape and form under the pressure of events.

Let us, therefore, take a closer look at the issue, and let me say at once that here we are also entering the field of political relationships. It is in the field of political relationships that you will find the only real and actual charge being made against us in many countries of the world. The charge is that our politics are politics of inequality and therefore unjust and harsh.

On the basis of other human rights no charge can be sustained because our Bantu community have at their disposal educational, social and health services to a greater extent than most non-White communities in Africa, the Middle East and Asia (and I am perfectly well aware that I am talking of the biggest part of the world). In these spheres of human rights and privileges any impartial and objective

comparison must be in our favour. Nobody, but nobody, need go hungry in South Africa; everybody can sleep under a roof; the sick, the old and the infirm are cared for; education is proceeding apace and our standard of literacy is moving sharply upwards.

A Proper Place In Africa

The White man is not shirking his responsibilities, and he is increasingly receiving not only the co-operation but also the appreciation of the Black man for what is being done. An important part of our educational policy is to teach not only the three R's but also to provide practical education so that the Bantu can find and hold a proper place in developing Africa. To this end, he must be taught to accept and to be able to exercise the responsibilities which are necessary if he wants to remain in balance in this new world. Of these, the main responsibility is that he must ever more be able to govern himself, in other words to exercise political responsibilities. In the past he has leaned too heavily on the White man; now he must learn to stand on his own legs in a world which, in many ways, is strange to him. How are we going to do this?

An answer to the question brings into play the sharpest of all divergences. There are those who advocate integrating into White society those Bantu who have reached the necessary stage of development and giving them full rights in all fields in all areas of the country. This will, of course, mean the creation of a mixed society. It will also mean splitting the Bantu by drawing some artificial line of division throughout their whole structure. In the religious field they are already today split into more than 1,300 sects and are spiritually torn asunder. So, we are asked also to split them politically, educationally, economically and sociologically, thereby depriving the majority, who have not nearly reached the required stage of development, of the assistance and of the leavening services of their more educated compatriots.

By Himself, For Himself—

Who must lift the ever increasing Bantu millions? Must the White man continue to do it all by himself? Would it not be a healthier and happier process if the Bantu tackles the task largely by and for himself? If the Bantu must do this by and for himself (and, for a long time, with the assistance of the White community), then the developed and educated Bantu must not be divorced from his own society but must turn back into it. A tremendous job and opportunities await him there.

Others say — and they include the Communists — that universal franchise is the answer. Give everybody over a certain age the vote, whether they want it or not, whether they understand the privileges as well as the responsibilities that go with it, or not. To put it plainly and shortly: this would mean an end of order and of

good government in South Africa, the end of economic viability and, at the same time, national suicide for the White community and also for the larger part of the multi-tribal and multi-lingual Bantu community. I have yet to learn that suicide is a Christian virtue, and we therefore reject such a policy completely.

Separation, Partial Or Total?

What then remains? Only one thing: separation. Again the question arises: How far? Partial or total? Bear in mind that geographically we already have White and Bantu areas, whatever may at the moment be said of the extent of those areas. On this subject the last word has not yet been spoken.

Economically, some say, we already have integration and this makes separate development impractical and untenable. They liken the economic situation to an omelette which cannot be unscrambled and which must therefore, be eaten, whether you like omelettes or not. I, and the majority of South Africans, however, do not believe that there is any such omelette and are in turn accused of not knowing an omelette when we see one. What we do see, rather, is a pan of eggs in a discernible pattern of relationship to one another. You can separate them if you want to; so the question is, do you want to?

I have already dealt with labour relations and I therefore merely wish to repeat that, in the interests of all, I do *not* foresee separation in this field in any total sense. In our economic structure and in our labour relationship we do, as of now, have a definite pattern both in White and in Bantu areas. This pattern is not one of integration. Employment, even full employment, does not necessarily mean economic integration.

What about separate or differential development in the residential and social field? Will it be partial or total? For all practical purposes, it already is total and moving forward in a more clearly defined way and into more clearly specified areas.

Does this mean an end to contact with one another? It does not, as I shall show when I deal with the question of political rights more comprehensively, but I do wish to refer, at this stage, to the so-called church clause, which has been scandalously misused for propagandistic purposes. On the question of the respective areas of the State and of the Church, the Christian world has gone through a long period of development, not all of which has been without pain and distress, even to this day. Freedom of worship is as well established in South Africa as it is in the United States, and nothing has prevented or even now prevents persons of different colour from worshipping together in my country, if they choose so to do. However, when the act of worship is used, or rather misused for the purpose of political demonstration and propaganda and thereby for the creation of unrest and disturbance, and provided further that it is so adjudged, not by the Government but by the independent local authority, then the Government has power to intervene.

We are living in times when every activity of the human being is being used, or liable to be used, by those who have an interest in stirring up instability and unrest. Against this and this alone, the Government has taken the power of prevention when they are requested to do so by those immediately concerned which, in this case, is the local authority responsible for law and order. To say that men of different colour in my country may not worship together is a travesty of the truth.

Bridges Rebuilt

By and large there is more contact between White and non-White now than there has ever been before. More than two-thirds of the Bantu live in the Bantu areas and in the towns and on the farms of the White rural areas, where there is close and continuous contact as well as supervision by the Government, by organizations and by individuals. We have relatively few problems as regards these two-thirds.

Somewhat less than one-third live in the larger urban and industrial areas and we have many problems in regard to this one-third. These are the problems you read or may have read about in books like "Cry the Beloved Country," in newspaper articles and in journals. This one-third gives you a full view of the impact of Western civilization on the Bantu who has emerged and is still emerging from his tribal organization, who finds himself delighted and amazed with some of the things he discovers in the White man's world but confused and distressed with others; who lacks in competitive capacity and so often becomes the prey of others (including members of his own race), who are better equipped and will not hesitate to deprive and rob him of his earnings, and also to use him as their tool in other fields. For the power-hungry, the agitator and the subversive this tool is a very valuable one and often very easy to use in these days of strident nationalism where the shouting of the slogan is more clearly heard and more often heeded than the reasoned argument; where the propagator of the classless society finds himself in the same company with the man who says that men are not only equal but also the same, and that society must be levelled off into a sodden dead greyness.

Super-imposed on and injected into the pattern, you have the well intentioned do-gooders with many of whom I have much sympathy. Unfortunately, there are equally as many who are not content to let another man be what he is. They must perforce try to remould and shape him into their own form, often due — I have no doubt — to their own sense of inferiority.

Co-operation And Contact

Also with this one-third there is continuous co-operation and contact, unfortunately not in the same satisfying sense and to the same extent there is with the others. This is a bridge which has to be rebuilt. I say rebuilt because there was such a bridge in the form of the Natives Representative Council established in 1936. The Council

was intended to function as a forum of consultation between governors and governed on all matters respecting Bantu life and organization. It could have been a place where mind could have met mind and ideas freely exchanged and interchanged. The bridge was blown up by those who considered that man lived by politics alone and that matters like bread and shelter could afford to wait. Equal rights were the only subject they wished to discuss and nothing else. No effort by the then Prime Minister, General Smuts, and no exhortations by his able lieutenant, the late Mr. J. H. Hofmeyr, an acknowledged friend of the Bantu, could stem the process, with the result that the Natives Representative Council lapsed into futility and was later abolished.

This bridge, however, has to be rebuilt and we are doing this carefully with the aid of many good men from the ranks of the Bantu, who are coming forward in increasing numbers. The task is not an easy one for ourselves or for moderates among the Bantu, for they are subject to severe pressure from those who do not wish to have peaceful and gradual progress but who see in agitation and in violence the speedier satisfaction of their political aims. The Government are fully aware of the possibilities as well as the dangers inherent in the situation and are taking corrective action to restore the balance.

Bantu Political Rights

I now return to the gravamen of the charge against us, namely, that the Bantu do not enjoy political rights and that we sin against the democratic concept of no taxation without representation. This is not true as it stands, but there is sufficient to it to make it *appear* to be true when seen out of context and divorced from the actualities of South African life as a whole. Let us deal with the situation as it is in the two areas which I have mentioned — in the first place, the White areas where the White man's rights are supreme and then in the Bantu areas where Bantu rights are supreme.

In White areas the Bantu do *not* enjoy *full* political rights and in the Bantu areas the White man enjoys no political rights at all. May I ask you to bear this in mind? In the White areas the Bantu do have the franchise, but only to the extent that they may elect White representatives to the Union Parliament, three in the Lower House and four in the Upper House.* In addition, eight Senators are appointed to the Upper House on the grounds of their thorough acquaintance by reason of their official experience or otherwise with the reasonable wants and wishes of the Coloured races in South Africa. This is in terms of the South Africa Act, as amended.

It is only in recent years, following on increasing industrialization and also as a result of the war, that the Bantu have flocked to the cities in their tens of thousands. I have already referred to the resultant problems in housing, health and education but you will understand that also in the field of governmental control of these new

*The Coloured population elects four White representatives to the Lower House.

communities a problem was created which could not be settled overnight. Our overall policy is to teach the Bantu increasingly to govern themselves also in these areas and therefore to enjoy limited political rights in these local communities. However, if this training for self-government is to work and to work well, it is a process in which the element of gradualness has to play its full part. As the Bantu put it, Hamba Kahle—walk carefully.

Bantu Authorities

In the Bantu areas, Bantu rights are supreme, and politically they are being led at a rapid pace towards the greatest measure of self-government permitted by their stage of development. We do not believe — as some who profess to be experts do — that the chieftain system is dead and that the tribal organization has had its day. We may differ in this but we, in the Union, believe that events will prove us right not only in the Union but also elsewhere. The old gods of Africa do not die so easily; and to disregard the tribal system as something of the past is to disregard a potent factor in Bantu life. After all, the Bantu has his roots in this system and has been governed by its laws and conventions for thousands of years. What a miscalculation therefore — and what conceit on the part of Western man — to think that the Bantu can, or even should be recreated in Western shape in this short period of contact! Adjustments there will be, and they are in fact taking place, but again let me say: guide such adjustment along the path of evolution and not of revolution.

In South Africa, we have chosen to proceed from that with which the Bantu is intimately acquainted, in which he has the very source of his being and from which he derives his personality and therefore his self-respect, namely the tribal system. We are, therefore, strengthening the system and reconstituting the authority of the chiefs where such authority has tended to become disrupted under the pressure of events.

We are, however, not confining ourselves to this but, in terms of the Bantu Authorities Act, we proceed from the single Tribal Authority to the grouped Regional Authority and from the Regional Authority to the comprehensive Territorial Authority. In the election of these Authorities, democratic institutions enter into the picture because, whereas the Tribal Authority plays a role limited to the tribe only, the Regional Authority, constituted on an elective basis from the component Tribal Authorities, exercises authority over a wider region covering the jurisdictional areas of various tribes. This is still further extended in the Territorial Authority, which is virtually a Bantu Parliament or Congress, where various Regional Authorities combine in one authoritative body to exercise jurisdiction over a large area. Powers of taxation and of civil and criminal jurisdiction are being increasingly extended to these various Authorities, so that in this way the Bantu may more and more reach the stage where they can govern themselves in their own areas.

To date there are 312 Tribal Authorities, twelve Regional Authorities and a Territorial Authority for the Xhosa people in the Transkei. Another Territorial Authority is under consideration for the Zulu people, and by the time this process is completed we shall have what we think will be a sound governmental structure for the Bantu peoples in their own areas. Here they will be able to exercise all human rights to the fullest extent, in accordance with their capacities and capabilities, and consequently as far as they are able to acquit themselves of the responsibilities that go with these rights.

Political Picture Different

Together with the limited political rights they already enjoy in the White man's areas and the rights of local self-government with which they will increasingly be entrusted in those areas, and together with the full rights in their own areas, the political picture I think is somewhat different to that with which the world has been presented.
















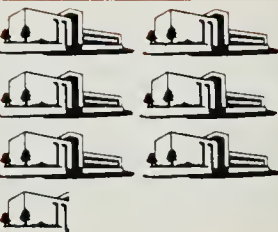
I come now to the answer to the question I have posed previously: will there be total or partial separation? — and I think the reply must be clear. I summarize it as follows:


1. There is not and cannot be anything static in the South African situation.
2. Accordingly there must always be continuous adjustment to changing circumstances.
3. This adjustment, seen in the context of all the circumstances, tends in the direction of an increasing and not decreasing division of functions and powers of government between White and Bantu areas.
4. Such a division of power must proceed slowly if it is to be healthy, and must be accompanied by a practical educative process.
5. The present Bantu areas, together with such areas as may be added thereto, must be developed intensively so that there can be a homeland for the Bantu in the fullest sense of the term. As far as can be foreseen, many millions of Bantu will still be resident in the White areas.
6. The Bantu still so resident will have to be satisfied with limited rights in the White areas, while the Whites will have to be satisfied with no rights in the Bantu areas except where these relate for the time being to executive, supervisory and professional functions.
7. The South African Government, if it is to govern well, has to have regard to the facts as they are now and not as they may be presumed to be at some time in the distant future. At the same time, the Government will so shape their policy that it will provide for foreseeable contingencies.


Education Record


In this summary I mentioned a most important aspect of policy, namely, the educative process. For this the Government some years ago assumed full responsibility. An important step, taken recently, was the creation of a separate Department of Bantu Education under a full-time Minister of State. While the Government supervises and largely finances Bantu education, actual control is now in the hands of Bantu parents and Bantu School Committees. Formerly this was not so. Bantu education, though financed by the Central Government, was administered by four Provincial Governments. Actual control rested mainly in the hands of White persons, operating through religious and other organizations. This held in itself some undesirable features, the main one being that the Bantu themselves played no active part in it, except that some of them were on the teaching staffs.


We now have functioning over 4,000 Bantu School Committees with more than 45,000 Bantu parents serving on them. Although there are still White teachers in Bantu schools, there are over 25,000 Bantu teachers and many thousands (especially women) are being trained. On June 30, 1957, there were 907,000 Bantu children in primary classes, 276,000 in higher primary classes and 36,000 in secondary schools — almost 1,250,000 children altogether. According to my information this record, comparatively speaking, is not equalled anywhere in Africa.*

BANTU EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA	BANTU POPULATION	STUDENTS	STATE EXPENDITURE	SCHOOLS
	1920 			
	1940 			
	1951 			
	1957 			

 Each symbol indicates 100,000 Bantu population

 Each symbol indicates 100,000 students

 Each symbol indicates 1,000,000 dollars

 Each symbol indicates 1000 Schools

*It is interesting to note that in a city like New York, with a population of just over 8 million, 1,046,000 children are attending the public schools.



In their homelands, the South African Bantu cling to their customs and tribal traditions, even to their tribal dress as in the case of these Zulu chieftains. Primarily agricultural and pastoral people, they are living in much the same way as their forefathers.

Kroonstad Secondary School for Bantu.

At this school, 450 pupils study commercial subjects as well as the ordinary curriculum. The number of Bantu school children has increased by almost half a million since Bantu education was centralized in 1955. The Government is at present spending \$25 million per annum on Bantu education. Some 6,000 Bantu schools provide facilities where the 25,000



Bantu teachers instruct their 1,250,000 pupils. These pupils represent 50 per cent of the potential school-age population. If the present rate of progress continues, school attendance is expected to reach 100 per cent by 1963. The Bantu of South Africa are approaching complete literacy at a faster rate than any other native group in Africa.

Education and enlightenment are essential for successful self-administration. Bantu leaders are assisted along the road to self-government through special intensive courses, sponsored by the Government, for chiefs and headmen.

Positive Approach

Many people are aware of the negative aspects of apartheid but not so many are aware of its positive aspects. If my approach is criticized because its main emphasis is on the positive aspects, I can only reply that my object has been to furnish information on a sector of our policy which is not often brought to public attention.

The negative aspects of the policy, which can be summarized by saying that equal rights are not accorded to the Bantu in the White man's areas and are also withheld from the White man in the Bantu areas, are more than balanced by the positive aspects which I now restate briefly:

1. By the act of separation, it reduces the possibility of friction and correspondingly assures harmonious co-existence.
2. It assures to the White man as well as to the Bantu his continued and unhampered existence in a country to which both rightly lay claim and to which both rightly belong.
3. It removes from the White man the threat of ultimate political domination by the numerically superior Bantu and from the Bantu the threat of continued economic domination by the White man.
4. It assures to the Union of South Africa political stability, with economic viability, in so far as these are not disturbed by outside interference such as Communist penetration and subversion.
5. It assures to the Bantu the interest and assistance of the more experienced and competitively stronger White race in his development to maturity and in his adjustment to the stresses of the times.
6. It is based on the recognition of the fundamentally important fact that the Bantu has the right to be himself and that to be himself he has primarily to draw, as indeed he must, upon the sources of his own being for that form and that substance which alone can and will make of him a whole man. Only in this way will he retain his self-respect, and only by retaining his self-respect will he gain and will he be entitled to hold the respect of others. Along this path we are endeavouring to help him.*

Freedom Cannot Stand By Itself

In conclusion I do want to say something which I consider to be of the utmost importance to all of us everywhere in the world and that is this: independence for his nation and freedom to live his own life in his own way is something which stirs every man's heart, whether he be of high estate like the Western democrat or of low estate like the Kalahari Bushman.

*I cannot, within the limits of this address, deal with the smaller populations groups, such as the Coloureds and Asians.

But freedom cannot stand by itself. It must be sustained by faith and bolstered by power, also in the political and in the economic fields. To speak emotionally of the ragged shirt of independence is not enough, however satisfying it may be for the moment. When this shirt becomes too ragged and wears too thin, the wearer will be exposed to all the winds that blow.

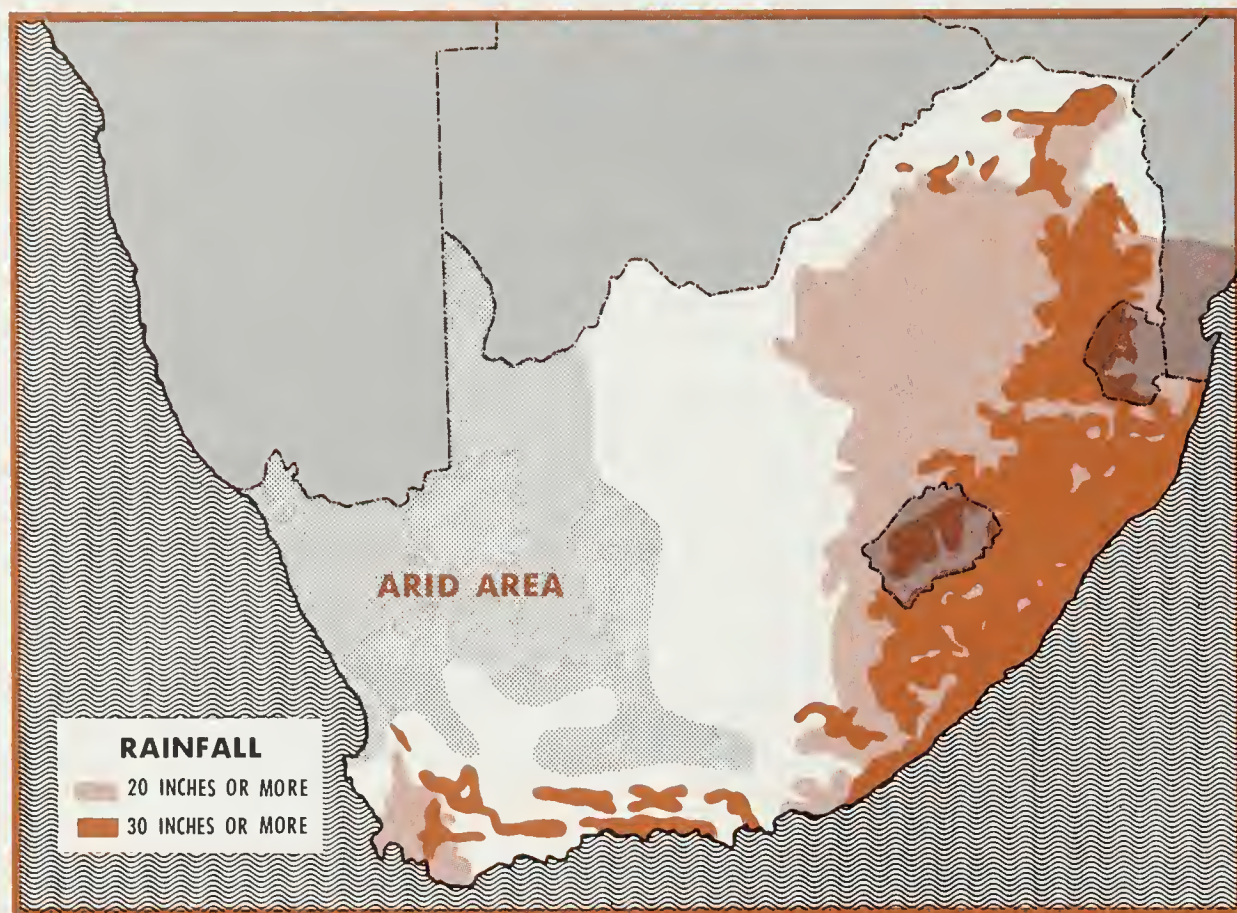
Looking around us we see many, far too many, of the newly independent nations who had eagerly adopted the forms of Western democracy, now abandoning the democratic concept and substituting the military dictatorship. Why are they doing this? Some of them have been very candid and have given us the reasons quite clearly: because Western democratic procedures and institutions are strange to them; because their people have not developed to the stage where they can understand and use these procedures and sustain these institutions; because evil results from an attempt to force upon them from above a pattern which is foreign in its source, and which does not fit into the picture of their national origins and growth. They therefore reject this, as they have the right to do; nevertheless their rejection of democratic concepts fills us with anxiety and foreboding for the peace of the world. We hope that military dictatorship will merely be an interim phase, and that these new nations will find a form of government understood and accepted by them and which, in its exercise, will bring them stability, tranquility and happiness in close co-operation with those in the Western world who are aware of their searchings and their needs, who are prepared to assist them while not forcing acceptance of such assistance.

To Know Is To Understand

Happenings in the newly independent countries are also forcing us, in the Western world, to reappraise carefully our attitudes and concepts. I am bold enough to say that, in this reappraisal, our policy in South Africa, in so far as it serves our needs and circumstances, will at last be seen in its proper perspective. Through this policy we eliminate the disillusionment which has already in so many cases given rise to the emergence of military dictatorships and, in so doing, we are actually skipping this stage and thereby hope to lead a people four times our number into self-realization, based upon self-respect and upon the ability to govern themselves, at a time when so many others, having chosen what appeared to be a shorter route, find themselves bogged down in confusion and distress.

The South African Government and people are criticized by a section of world opinion which does not properly understand and often does not want to understand either our circumstances or our motives but, when all this has passed, it is the end result—in terms of human happiness and human achievement—under God's grace, which will be proof of the correctness of what we are doing now.

We are not insensitive to world opinion. But world opinion, which has the freedom to criticize, does not have the responsibility to govern. We do.



The Bantu areas of South Africa are chiefly those which were under Bantu occupation when the Whites settled in the interior. More than one-third of the nine and a half million Bantu live in these homelands, with an area of about 60,000 square miles. The suitability of these areas for farming lends itself well to the agricultural advancement which the Government emphasized for many years, through the introduction of modern techniques and vast irrigation and soil reclamation schemes. About 75 per cent of the Bantu areas have an annual rainfall of more than 20 inches. Only 35 per cent of the

whole of South Africa gets more than 20 inches of rain per year.

Progress in business undertakings is a new feature in the development of these territories. Recently a new impetus has been given by the Government to the industrial advancement of the areas by the creation of a Bantu Finance and Development Corporation, which acts as a stimulant for Bantu business initiative and assists and encourages Bantu-owned industrial and commercial enterprises.

REGISTRATION

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